A PRIMER OF ASSASSINATION THEORIES

The whole spectrum of doubt, from the Warren commission's to Connally's.

HOW IT HAPPENED

1. SINGLE-BULLET THEORY

President A.4-3 majority of the Warren Commission (see chart, page 294). And most Commission lawyers, notably Adas Scooper, who developed the theory in March, 1964, and Norman Redlich, who advocated it as the only alternative to a two-assassin theory. Thesis: The first bullet wounded both Kennedy and Connally. A second bullet hit Kennedy in the head and killed him. Another bullet missed the car entirely and was never found.

Selling Point: This is the only theory that explains the assassinations in terms of a single assassin. Why? Because films of the assassination show that a maximum of only 1.8 seconds could have elapsed between the earliest point at which Kennedy was first hit and the latest point at which Connally was first hit. Since the bolt of the murder rifle cannot be operated in less than 2.3 seconds, it could not possibly have been fired twice during the time in which both men were hit. Either both men were hit by the same bullet or there were two assassins.

The Warren report was published in August—that is, after the so-called P.R.I. Summary Report (which the Commission considered of "principal importance") was "evaluated and discarded" during the inquiry. Redlich further said "the Commission study used the actual (November 26) reports of the F.B.I. investigators, not just the summary." (However, the actual report, just recently found in the National Archives, corroborates the Summary Report.)

2. Time magazine proposes that the F.B.I. was completely wrong on all reports and has long since publicly admitted these errors. However, the F.B.I. said The Washington Post that its Summary Report was accurate as of when it was prepared, implying the doctors later may have changed their opinion. The F.B.I. declined comment to The New York Times in June, 1964, on the question of whether or not its reports were erroneous. Emissary to Commission chairman Fletcher Knebel, the F.B.I. would only admit that it was possible that their initial reports did not reflect a subsequent decision by the doctors later may have changed their opinion. The F.B.I. declined comment to The New York Times in June, 1964, on the question of whether or not its reports were erroneous. Emissary to Commission chairman Fletcher Knebel, the F.B.I. would only admit that it was possible that their initial reports did not reflect a subsequent decision by the doctors later may have changed their opinion.

3. The Commission's Post-Reports, reported by Fletcher Knebel, holds that the day after the autopsy, on receiving further information about the wound from the Dallas doctors, the autopsy doctors reached the conclusion that the bullet exited from Kennedy's throat. Aside from the fact that this theory contradicts the version of the autopsy given in The Warren Report, it still leaves unresolved the problem of the bullet wound "below the shoulder" (reported by the F.B.I.), that later apparently moved up to a defect of the neck.

Drawback No. 3: Photographs of the President's shirt and jacket support the F.B.I. report that the first bullet struck Kennedy below the shoulder. If the bullet came from above, "then the shoulder is highly unlikely that it existed through the throat." Return 1. The Incompetent P.R.I. J. Lee Rambo, who was in front of Kennedy. Return 2. The Creeping Shot. Norman Redlich has suggested (after the F.B.I. photographs were published in Esquire) that the President's shirt somehow was up a few inches so that the bullet hole in the shirt coincided with a hole in the rear of the neck. Examination indicates, however, that raising the shirt over the collar line entails stabilizing it up, which would produce two holes in the back of the neck. 2. Newsweek magazine suggests that Kennedy may have been bent over as the December 13 P.R.I. Summary Report was published in August—that is, after the so-called P.R.I. Summary Report (which the Commission considered of "principal importance") was "evaluated and discarded" during the inquiry. Redlich further said "the Commission study used the actual (November 26) reports of the F.B.I. investigators, not just the summary."

4. The President's stretcher when the Dallas doctors applied external heart massage. 2. The second bullet struck Connally. 3. The third bullet entered Kennedy's head and fragmented. The impact of the shot sent a tiny fragment of bone through Kennedy's throat, creating a small throat wound. All shots came from the Book Depository.

Drawback No. 1: An entry wound below the shoulder would explain the shirt and jacket holes being about six inches below the top of the collar. It would also serve to explain the autopsy sketch showing a wound below the collar line. And it would explain the Secret Service testimony that it was six inches below the collar line.

2. The supposition that the bullet also fell out of Kennedy's back accounts for the bullet found on the stretcher. (See Phantom-Bullet Theory.)

3. The tiny bone fragment accounts for the small throat wound. Also, a bone fragment would explain the absence of metallic traces on the holes in the front of the shirt.

Drawback No. 2: The Fourth Bullet. Later in the investigation, it was discovered that a bystander, James Tague, had been wounded by one of the shots. The F.B.I. theory holds that all three shells hit inside the President's car. Yet it was unlikely that Tague was wounded by any of these shots since he was standing about 240 feet away at the time of the assassination. This rules out the possibility that Tague was wounded by a fragment from a fourth bullet, but only three shells were found in the Book Depository.

Drawback No. 3: If the P.R.I. autopsy report is accurate, then the Commission's two-assassin theory is probably false. The implications of this are almost too disturbing to imagine. Yet, the fact that the autopsy surgeon, Commander Homer, burned "certain preliminary notes" has given rise to the theory that the "preliminary notes" actually contained the earlier version of the autopsy referred to by the F.B.I. This question is unresolved.
One of the main stimuli for theories that shots came from someplace other than the Book Depository is an amateur eight-millimeter film of the assassination taken by Abraham Zapruder. In ten seconds of color film, virtually the entire sequence of events is recorded. The Zapruder film shows the motorcade proceeding down Elm Street with the President smiling and waving, then suddenly he reaches for his throat, apparently hit. About a second later Connally grimaces with pain and begins shuffling, over. A few seconds elapsed, then a bullet visibly strikes the President's head. From the film, the Commission judged that the President was first hit between film frames 210 and 231, and the last shot heard occurred on film frame 111. By determining the shutter speed of the camera (4.5 frames per second), the Commission ascertained: (1) a maximum of 1.6 seconds elapsed between the first film shot and 1) no more than 0.8 seconds elapsed between the second and the third frames. The Zapruder film was analyzed by two interested theorists. The Zapruder film also led directly to the Commission's Single-Bullet Theory (see below).

5. MISCELLANEOUS THEORY

The fact that film frames 208 through 211 have been deleted from the black-and-white frame-by-frame photographs published by the Warren Commission (Exhibit 805) and from the color slides of the Zapruder film at the National Archives—and the fact that frames 209 and 212 show obvious splices marks—led a number of theorists to suspect that Kennedy was shot during that interval and that the four missing film frames were suppressed deliberately. Drews says Life magazine owns the original film and according to those who have seen it, the film is complete, no frames are missing, and Kennedy does not appear to have been hit in the sequence. The Archives' frames just may have been damaged initially.

6. TRAFFIC SIGN THEORY

David Libby, a UCLA graduate student, claims that he can detect stress marks coming from the traffic sign just before frame 513. He interprets these as shock waves caused by a bullet hitting the sign. While Libby, a theorist with some interest in the Depository, Salandria extrapolated the trajectory from the direction in which the head moves and concludes that the shot came from behind the picket fence or the grassy knoll. Salandria also suspects that, because the President's head moved sharply backward and to the left, a distant shot might have been the cause. Using two slide projectors, and superimposing frame 316 over frame 313, Salandria finds that after the fatal shot, Kennedy's head moves sharply backward and to the left, a direction consistent with shots from the Depository. Salandria extrapolated the trajectory from the direction in which the head moves and concludes that the shot came from behind the picket fence or the grassy knoll. Salandria also suspects that, because the President's head moved sharply backward and to the left, a distant shot might have been the cause. Using two slide projectors, and superimposing frame 316 over frame 313, Salandria finds that after the fatal shot, Kennedy's head moves sharply backward and to the left, a direction consistent with shots from the Depository. Salandria extrapolated the trajectory from the direction in which the head moves and concludes that the shot came from behind the picket fence or the grassy knoll. Salandria also suspects that, because the President's head moved sharply backward and to the left, a distant shot might have been the cause.

8. OVER THE FENCE THEORY

Proposers: Mark Lane, Thomas Basques, Josephine Root, et al. Thesis: Early statements were made by hospital doctors suggesting that the throat wound was made by a bullet entering the throat. Since films of the assassination firmly establish that the President's car was past the Book Depository when he was shot, a bullet entering the throat must have come from a point well in front of the Depository. (In fact) at first interpreted to mean the railroad overpass; however, when the Commission showed that a bullet did not in fact pass through the limousine's windshield, as was believed by the proponents of this theory, "in front" was then interpreted to mean the grassy knoll. Mark Lane states in his latest version that Kennedy was shot in the throat while lying on the knoll when he was shot in the throat, although none of the films indicates this to be the case. Selling Point: The entry-wound theory explains the Dallas doctors' early statements and the relatively small diame of the wound, although the doctors later testified that under certain conditions an exit wound would have the same appearance as an entry wound. Drawback: The entry-wound theory does not explain what finally happened to the bullet that entered the throat. Since no exit wound was found in the President's back (and no bullet was in the President's body), the entry-wound theory depends on the assumption that the entry and other evidence was changed.

9. EYEWITNESS THEORIES

Eyewitness accounts of the assassination are perhaps the most popular source of "two-amioc Theory—vitually any armchair student of the assassination, given the Report's twenty-six volumes of testimony, can develop an interesting theory as to where the shots came from. Right after the twenty-six volumes were made public, Harold Feldman, a writer on the psychology of assassination, counted up the various sources of shots reported by 121 eyewitnesses. His tally revealed that 31 gave "no clear opinions," 23 thought the shots came from the Book Depository, and 51 though the shots came from the grassy knoll area. Largely on the basis of this analysis, Feldman advanced the theory that there were two assassins: one on the grassy knoll and one in the Book Depository. Drawback: Eyewitness recollections, often conflict which means that somebody has to be wrong.

WHO DID IT?
The following six theories name Lee Harvey Oswald as the lone assassin.

10. UNDERGROUND MAN THEORY

Proposers: The Warren Commission. The Commission did not reach a final conclusion as to why Oswald killed President Kennedy. Instead, it listed five "factors" (which, a Commission lawyer said, read like cliches from a TV soap opera). They were:

(1) hostility to his environment;
(2) failure to establish "meaningful motivation;"
(3) desire for a place in history;
(4) a commitment to Marxism and communism (a "factor" invented at the behest of Commissioner Gerald Ford); and
(5) a capacity to act decisively without regard to the consequences.

According to this theory, Oswald had no motive; he acted out of blind resentment.

11. MANCHURIAN CANDIDATE THEORY

Proposers: Some Commission lawyers and members of the C.I.A. Since Oswald spent considerable time in a Soviet hospital, a few Commission lawyers entertained the theory that Oswald might have been brainwashed and conditioned for suicide by the Communists, then he went haywire (i.e. he was accidentally turned on). The Commission decided to send a letter to the C.I.A. requesting information on the "present state of Soviet 'mind-conditioning' techniques." A few weeks later, a C.I.A. agent was quoted as saying that the possibility was still "a main school of thought at the C.I.A., although no actual sightings of such techniques were in a relatively primitive stage, this form of conditioning could be induced by drugs. The theory, however, was not further developed.
WHO'S AFRAID OF THE WARREN REPORT?

Elementary, my dear Warren. Everybody. And here's why . . .

by Edward Jay Epstein

The Warren Commission was supposed to end all doubts about the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Tragically, it hasn't. The distinguished members of the Commission never intended that their Report should become the basis for an amateur detective game. Yet this is precisely what is happening. A growing number of people are spending their leisure hours scouring the Commission's Report and the twenty-six volumes of testimony and exhibits for possible clues to a conspiracy. Others, using high-powered magnifying glasses and infrared lights, are scrutinizing photographs of the assassination scene, hoping to find snipers concealed in the shrubbery. Still others are combing the National Archives on the hunch that they will locate something relevant in the three hundred cubic feet of documents that the Commission deemed irrelevant. Since the National Archives will provide microfilm copies of any unclassified document in the assassination file at five cents a page, including F.B.I. and Secret Service investigative reports, a syndicate of private researchers is planning to buy all the available documents. Presumably they will then subdivide the 20,000 or so pages into areas (e.g., Ruby, Oswald, eyewitnesses, etc.), and attempt a more definitive study than the Commission itself conducted. Elizabeth Hardwick, a literary critic of considerable stature, is considering joining the syndicate for another purpose. She believes it might contain the American comedic sublime.

Meanwhile, more active private investigators are tracking down leads in Dallas and re-interviewing star witnesses. A few are keeping the death count on those who have been even remotely connected with the case. And there is a burgeoning grapevine through which assassination news is rapidly disseminated. As soon as a new discovery is made, assassination buffs across the country are alerted by a telephonic chain letter.

This phenomenon would not be particularly disturbing if the players were merely kooks. However, most of them are not. Assassination buffs apparently are serious people—professionals, students, housewives, etc.— keen on solving what they consider to be an unsolved mystery. Perhaps this is all part of the American folklore tradition of amateurs stepping in and solving cases that baffle the police. Already amateurs have made some constructive contributions to the case. Mrs. Sylvia Meagher, a U.N. careerist, has completely indexed the twenty-six volumes of testimony, a feat the Commission never had time to accomplish. Mr. and Mrs. George Nash, sociologists, found three new witnesses to the Tippit murder by following a tip given to them by a Dallas undertaker. Vincent Selandra, a Philadelphia lawyer, has charted the precise movement of the President's head after the bullet's impact by superimposing on each other the individual frames of the film of the assassination taken by a bystander. And Paul Hoch, a Berkeley graduate student, has unearthed some extremely important documents in the National Archives, including the original F.B.I. report on the autopsy. The man who has undoubtedly done the most to propagate the assassination cult is Mark Lane, thirty-nine-year-old attorney and sometime New York State Assemblyman. Lane began lecturing in coffeehouses, then stumped the college circuit, and is currently promoting both a book and a two-and-a-half-hour documentary film on the assassination. Above all, the Warren Commission itself shares at least part of the responsibility for the game. The Commission was obliged to publish all twenty-six volumes of data, although Commissioner Allen Dulles knew no point in doing this. "Nobody reads," he said. "Don't believe people read in this country. There will be a few professors who will read the record." Making the record public, however, is The American Way.

Indeed, the number of people who have bothered to read the record has been small (less than a thousand sets of the twenty-six volumes have been sold to date). But they have been an inquisitive group, often ingenious. With their help, the public record has spawned a school of theories that has been swimming in the eddies of the public press, lately with increasing dinlessness. Many of the theories, it is true, depend on fragments of evidence which, although clear enough, are palpably irrelevant (i.e., the death of several peripheral witnesses since the assassination). But they are no more irrelevant than many of the Report's own meticulous entries (i.e., in July of 1962 Oswald spent $3.37 for a subscription to Time). Assassination buffs have seized, perhaps too eagerly, on discrepancies in the testimony of witnesses who were understandably shaken and confused. But in this they are no more at fault than the Commission, which appeared (Continued on page 310)
NOTES FOR A NEW INVESTIGATION
by Sylvia Meagher

The woman who indexed the entire twenty-day volume of The Warren Report emerges from her task with this advice: reopen the beginnings and finish the job. For a start.

CALL THE IMPORTANT WITNESSES
NOT HEARD
BY THE COMMISSION

Concerning Oswald's Activities...

Pierce Allman, television newswoman: Oswald had said that someone had approached him outside the Depository after the shooting and bad asked to be directed to the nearest phone. Oswald's account corresponds with the actual experience of Pierce Allman, and this conflicts with the Commission's reconstruction of Oswald's "escape." Mary Davey, witness at Double House: She told the F.B.I. that Oswald and Tippit were in the restaurant at the same time, two days before the assassination, and that Tippit especially noticed Oswald when he complained about his food. The Warren Report says that the two men were not acquainted and had never seen one another.

John Rees Hanley, ex-Marine acquaintance of Oswald's: Hanley was known by the nickname "Shelby," to Oswald and to other Marines. The Warren Report says that there is no real "Shelby" and that it was only a nickname invented by Oswald for his own purposes.

Alamos Haddix, reporter for the Houston Post: He gave the Secret Service information suggesting that Oswald was being paid $200 a month by the F.B.I. as an informant assigned pseudonym "5712." Milton Jones, bus passenger: He told the F.B.I. that Dallas policemen had boarded the bus and searched the passengers just after Oswald had departed, which was before anyone noticed Oswald's absence from the Depository, Sears Roebuck, Depository office employee: With Victoria Adams, she ran into Oswald at the Depository and immediately after shots were fired but did not encounter Oswald—supposedly running down at that time—nor Roy Truly and policeman M. L. Baker, supposedly running up.

... The Shots and Related Circumstances

James Chasse, motorcycle policeman: He had been the Depository's "deputy," and purportedly saw Governor Connally hit by a sniper bullet after the President was first shot. This conflicts with the Commission's single bullet-theory.

Julia Menner: About 75 minutes before the assassination, while driving toward the triple underpass, she saw a man walk up the gravy road carrying what appeared to be a rifle case. Approximately 150 people known to have witnessed the assassination at the scene who were never questioned by the Commission. (Named in Appendix to Mark Lane's Rush to Judgment.)

... The Tippit Shooting

There is considerable confusion and contradiction about the time that Tippit was shot, the description of the killer, the movements of the suspect, and the actions of the eyewitnesses. The following people could have given important information:

E. F. Bowley, the only witness at the Tippit scene who looked at his watch to check the time when he saw Tippit's body. Bowley said in an affidavit taken by the Dallas police that Tippit was already dead at 1:10 p.m., while the Commission says that he was shot at 1:15 p.m. If Bowley was correct about the time, Oswald could not have walked from his running house to East 18th Street in time to kill Tippit.

Radio-taxi patron R. C. Nelson: Tippit drove to central Oak Cliff, supposedly on a simultaneous instruction to him and Nelson. But Nelson went to the Depository, casting doubt on whether either of them was really ordered to Oak Cliff.

Radio-taxi driver James H. W. Sanders: He obtained a description of the Tippit suspect from an unknown bystander—reportedly from either Oswald or someone he knew. Sanders was only 22 and had no police experience. He was present throughout the autopsy.

Radio-taxi driver Frank Wright and his wife: They lived across the street a half block from the spot where Tippit was killed. Mr. Wright heard the shots, saw a man standing right at Tippit's car who "seemed as fast as he could go," got into a small old grey 1950-1951 coup, and "drove away as quick as you could see." Mrs. Wright phoned the police to report the shooting. It was her call that resulted in the dispatch of the ambulance. The ambulance drivers Chyna Butler and Eddie Killings were never questioned either.

Oswald's Arrest

There are many unanswered questions as to who pointed Oswald out to the police, who drew a gun, whether Oswald tried to shoot an officer, and what was said by whom. The following witnesses present at the scene might have thrown light on these matters:


Detective E. E. Taylor: He stayed behind at the theatre after the arrest to make a list of the names and addresses of the patrons. The list is not among the Commission's exhibits.

Police officers Butcher, Back, Cunningham, Lyon, Stenger, and Toney.

... Oswald's Interrogation

Although Dallas Police Captains Fritz "kept no notes" or transcript of the interrogation of Oswald, and the reports submitted by Fritz and Federal agents (primarily from memory) were incomplete and in some vital respects contradictory—e.g., Oswald's trip to Mexico, where he was at the time of the shooting, and his "Hickok" alias—the following persons present were not asked to submit reports or to testify: Jim Allen, former Assistant District Attorney; Secret Service agents Grant, Howard, Kunkel, Patterson, and Warner; F.B.I. agent Joe Myron; U.S. Marshal Robert Nash; Chuck Webster, Professor of Law.

... The Walker Shooting

In addition to the Kennedy-Tippit killings, the Warren Commission also "convicted" Oswald of attempting to murder General Edwin A. McChr as in April, 1963. But they neglected to take testimony from:

Walker Kirk Coleman, a teen-age neighbor of General Walker, who saw two men flee the scene by car after the shot was heard. Oswald could not drive, and the Report said he was alone.

Detective Jra Van Cleave, who participated in the original investigation of the Walker shooting and who told the press at that time that the bullet had been "Identified as a .220," which rules out Oswald's Carcano rifle.

The Autopsy

In view of the conflicting descriptions of the wound in the President's back and the autopsy surmises, witnesses who saw the bullet could have given crucial information.

Admiral George Buryki, Presidential physician: He was in the motorcade, then at Parkland Hospital, and later at the autopsy, and he received the autopsy report submitted by the pathologists.

Francis X. O'Neill, Jr., F.B.I. agent: He was present throughout the autopsy and his description of the wound in the President's back conflicts with the official autopsy report.

James W. Sibert, F.B.I. agent: Said in "O'Neill's show".

John H. Stegner, Jr., medical photographer: He photographed the President's body.

Fourteen other Armed Forces or Federal officials named in the F.B.I. Re- port, and four funeral-home workers who prepared the body for burial.

... The stretcher-bullet (See Plotted Ballistic Trajectory.)

Richard E. Johnson, Secret Service agent: He handed the stretcher bullet to O. P. Wright, chief of personnel at Parkland hospital, before the Presidential party departed. Wright was not called either.

... A Possible Conspiracy

F.B.I. agent Warren James, one of the agents of the Warren Commission, later said that he knew of Oswald's preparation for the assassination.

Robert Adair, former service-station attendant: He claimed that Oswald had given him a rifle in lieu of payment for car repairs in the Spring of 1963. The Warren Report misleadingly states that Taylor himself identified Oswald's identification of Oswald.

R. W. Westphal and other Dallas policemen prepared reports immediately after the assassination in which Oswald's old Elsinore Street address was specified when the police had no known access to that address and although they claim they had no record of Oswald (Continued on page 115)

RESTATE THE EVIDENCE, STAGE NEW TESTS

The Commission's follow-up leads, its dependence on unsatisfactory tests and results, its reluctance to accept some solid indicators, its failure to follow through on the most pertinent leads, its refusal to conduct new experiments, and its refusal to go beyond the confines of a single bullet-theory, all suggest that the Warren Commission was not confident in its conclusions.

1. Tracing and examination of the inner autopsy photographs and X-rays.

2. Rifle and marksmanship tests on the basis of a new measurement from the shots from the Depository, using dragged car and distance, and other methods whose possibilities correspond with Oswald's level of skill. (The Warren Commission used experts.)

3. Tracing of the rifle obtained by Robert Adair from the terminal building, to determine whether the weapon was ever in the possession of Oswald or persons associated with him.

4. Tracing of laundry tag on the jacket discarded near the Tippit scene (number "B 9715") to determine whether Oswald or someone had it cleaned.

5. Recommissioning of Oswald's taxi ride, in a restored vehicle, to determine the actual time. In measurements performed for the Warren Commission the estimate was progressively reduced from eleven to nine to six minutes.

6. Re-auditioning of the police radio log to make an authoritative transcript which would resolve the conflicts among the three transcripts made for the Warren Commission.

7. Auditing of tapes of statements to the press by Parkland Hospital doctors, describing the President's wounds (tape of the first press conference is said to "go dead").

8. Tracing of Tippit's clipboard, never requested by the Warren Commission although it is visible in a photograph of his car before it was removed from the scene. (Continued on page 115)
fighting with trumpier, he asked to see an F.B.I. agent. An F.B.I. agent within him in jail and questioned him about the activities of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

2. Oswald's address book contained the address and license plate number of Dallas F.B.I. agent James Hosty. It was later deleted from the police file of Oswald's address.

3. Judge H. Edgar Hoover categorically denied that Oswald had any connection with the F.B.I. and offended the F.B.I.'s file on the Oswald Commission. (The Chief Justice refused it, however, on the grounds that it might contain secret information.)

24. OSWALD AS SECRET AGENT

Proponents: Mrs. Marguerite Oswald and Marilyn Moller.

Mrs. Oswald suggested long before the assassination, and is still of the belief, that her son was a C.I.A. agent. His trip to Russia was a C.I.A. mission, and so were his later activities. If Oswald was involved in the assassination, Mrs. Oswald suggests, "Now it could have been that my son and the Secret Service were all involved in a mercy killing." Explaining, "If he [Kennedy] was dying of an incurable disease, this would be for the security of our country."

Norman Moller, on the other hand, believed that pro-Kennedy legislation was an undercover agent for not one, but a number of espionage services (who had to collect the same particularly small agents in common).

Moller wrote in Book 6 of The Two Oswalds: "It was all a comedy of the most horrible sort, but also..."

The other newspapers, bill Hunter and Jim Knaute, were present. Bill Hunter was later killed by the "strawman discharge" of a policeman's revolver in a police station in Long Beach, California, Jim Knaute was killed by a "kamikaze chop" in his Dallas apartment. The murder is still unsolved. Ruby's lawyer, Tom Howard, also attended the meeting. He later died of what Howard's lawyer, Tom Howard, also attended the meeting. He later died of a "heart attack" (Jones notes "no autopsy was performed").

Moreover, Jones' paper has maintained a death-count on other relevant individuals.

1. Hatt Kilman, whose wife was a widow at a nearby church and whose friend lived in Oswald's rooming house, was found on a Florida street with a bullet in his head.

2. Dorothy Kilgallen, the only journalist who granted a private interview with Ruby, died. Jones points out incredulously that her death occurred on the night of the "straw" Northeast Blackout. (Jones missed the connection that the announcement of Who's My Line, John Daly, is the Chief Justice's new job.)

3. William Weather, the cabdriver who took Oswald home after the assassination and possibly talked to him, was found in a car crash—the first casualty to be killed on duty in Dallas since 1971.

4. Karen Bennett Carlin, another performer at Ruby's club and the last person to talk to Ruby before he shot Oswald, died of gunshot wounds in Houston, according to Penn Jones. This seems quite strange since she testified before a Commission lawyer that the Oswald-on trial would be acquitted. What went wrong, however—and here the theory becomes a mine-complicated mine—was that the real Oswald met Officer Tippit, who knew the secret Oswald and waved him down. In the ensuing confusion, Oswald punctured and killed Tippit.

This difference effets from the Oswald Assassination Time in one important way: here, the real Oswald is guilty. The theory becomes a mine-complicated mine—was that the real Oswald met Officer Tippit, who knew the secret Oswald and waved him down. In the ensuing confusion, Oswald punctured and killed Tippit.

25. TWO OSWALDS THEORY

Proponent: Richard H. Popkin.

Thesis Professor Popkin (Chairman, Philosophy Department, University of California at San Diego) has advanced a rather ingenious theory to explain the mystery of the Conspiracy Commission's findings. Certain witnesses claim to have seen "Two Oswalds"—one November 22 in places where he could not have been. To explain these anomalies, Popkin suggests that there really were "Two Oswalds"—the second "Oswald" densely resembled the real Oswald. The real Oswald's role was to lead the police into the assassination. The second Bachman, who really fired the shots, was the conspirator, on the Conspiracy Commission's finding.
in the assassination. According to this theory, the impersonator made himself conspicuous at a nearby rifle range, brought a gun into a neighborhood gunsmith, casted large checks, and acted in a manner the impersonator probably took part in the assassination.

Deputy Constable Weitzman and Serven Griswold.

21. TRUNK THEORY
Proposers: S. M. Holland, Richard W. Popkin. Shortly after the shots were fired, S. M. Holland rushed to the picket fence behind the knoll (where he thought he saw smoke) and found a station wagon and a sedan parked near the fence (see Over the Fence Theory). Muddy footprints led from the hearse of the station wagon to the sedan and thus mysteriously ended. Holland said: "I've often wondered if a man could have climbed into the trunk of that car and reclined the lid shut on himself, then someone else have driven it away later." Other theories, like Professor Popkin, have thought it more likely that the knoll assassin simply hid the rifle in the car, then fled on foot.

22. STORM DRAIN THEORY
Proposers Lillian Castellano. Mrs. Castellano, a California accountant, located what appeared to be a storm drain in a photograph of the grassy knoll taken at the time of the assassination. However, it could not be located in later photographs of the grassy knoll. Through a contact in Dallas, Mrs. Castellano obtained a sketch of the sewer and drainage system surrounding the grassy knoll. Apparently, the drain was filled in after the assassination. Mrs. Castellano suspected that it could have been part of an escape system.

23. OSWALD AS F.B.I. INFORMER
According to Secret Service report 747, Almon Harrington, a Houston reporter, said the Secret Service that he had heard from Chief Allan Swett of the Dallas sheriff's office that Lee Harvey Oswald "was being paid two hundred dollars per month by the F.B.I. in connection with their substantive investigation" and that "Oswald had informant number 173." The Commission never heard from Chief Allan Swett of the F.B.I. (the contact in Dallas, Mrs. Castellano obtained a chart of the sewer and drainage system surrounding the grassy knoll. Apparently, the drain was filled in after the assassination. Mrs. Castellano suspected that it could have been part of an escape system.

24. ONE ASSASSIN
ONE ASSASSIN
If this is borne out by the autopsy pictures, the Warren Commission will be faced with the fact that no Secret Service agent was on or near the knoll area at the time that Smith encountered the "agent." Mrs. Meagher suggests that the assassin may have escaped, using fake Secret Service credentials.

WHO KILLED JOHN KENNEDY?
WHO KILLED JOHN KENNEDY?

MISSING EVIDENCE

MURDERED EVIDENCE

ONE ASSASSIN

ONE ASSASSIN
If this is borne out by the autopsy pictures, the Warren Commission will be faced with the fact that no Secret Service agent was on or near the knoll area at the time that Smith encountered the "agent." Mrs. Meagher suggests that the assassin may have escaped, using fake Secret Service credentials.
12. DOMESTIC QUARREL THEORY
Proposers: Representative Gerald F. Connelly, Massachusetts, in his book, Portrait of the Assassin, suggests that Orlanood killed three people in his review of the assassination when he returned home to see his wife, Marina. She spurned him, Oswald then went to the garage. He got his rifle.

13. HORRIBLE ACCIDENT THEORY
Proposers: Marion Oswald. In her final testimony before the Commission, Mrs. Oswald advanced her own theory of Let's motives. She said she believed her husband was actually trying to shoot Governor John Connally, and missed, and by a horrible accident he killed the President.

14. OEDIPAL THEORY
Proposers: Dr. Renatus Hartog, co-author of The Two Asassins. Dr. Hartog, a psychiatrist who evaluated Oswald as a thirteen-year-old boy, has recently advanced a theory explaining the assassination in terms of Oswald's relationship to his mother. Hartog observes that Oswald slept in his mother's bed long after he should have had a bed of his own, and suggests that inner guilt feelings may have led him to kill President Kennedy. Dr. Hartog finds it significant that Oswald shot at both Kennedy and Tippett. In his time, since the number "three" is psychopathic, three is suggestive of the masculine genitalia. However, Sylvia Meagher points out in her review of Hartog's book that Tippett was shot four times.

15. KILLER-INSTINCT THEORY
Proposers: John J. McCloy. In a secret colloquium between the Commission and three psychiatrists, Commissioner McCloy advanced the "killer-instinct" theory. He noted that Oswald had killed two men and attempted to shoot at least three others (Governor Connally, General Walker, and the police officer who tried to arrest him). McCloy reasoned that this indicated a pattern of insatiable violence. By the time the report was written, however, McCloy's hypothesis seems to have been lost in the shuffle.

The following four theories are based on the belief that Oswald was innocent, that he was framed for both the Kennedy assassination and murder of T. D. Tippett by the real conspirators who planted evidence against him before and after the assassination. The logic of these theories necessarily leads to a high-level conspiracy involving law-enforcement agencies. For example, to believe that Oswald did not kill Tippett, it is necessary to assume that: a) shells from Oswald's revolver were planted at the scene by the real murderer; b) the revolver was planted on Oswald by the Dallas police (the plot obviously could not have depended on Oswald getting home and conveniently fetching his pistols); and c) Oswald's admission that he had his revolver with him when arrested was fabricated.

16. PLANTED-RIFLE THEORY
Proposers: Mark Lane.

Theorists: A 7.65 caliber German Mauser was found in the Book Depository, and later Oswald's 6.5 caliber Italian Mannlicher-Carcano rifle was substituted for it. This theory is based on testimony (and an affidavit) indicating that the three Dallas law officers that described the rifle as a Mauser. The problem with this theory is that the bullet fragments found in the President's car bacterially match Oswald's Carcano, proving that it was employed in the assassination (no matter where or when it was found).

17. PLANTED-BULLET THEORY
Proposers: Professor Richard H. Popkin, Professor Joseph Thompson, Sylvia Meagher, Vincent Saldivar, Leo Surette, Harold Weinberg, Mark Lane and Ray Marcus.

Theorists: A bullet, which The Warren Report states was found on Connelly's stretcher, was fired from Oswald's rifle sometime prior to the assassination. Then, after the assassination, it was planted on a stretcher in the Dallas hospital where Kennedy and Connally were treated, thereby framing Oswald.

This theory is based on the fact that evidence developed by the Commission precluded both Kennedy's and Connelly's stretchers as possible sources for the stretcher bullet. The Commission's autopsy report stated that the bullet entered Kennedy, therefore it could not have come from his stretcher. And Drs. Pincz, Humes, and Shaw testified that more fragments were found in Connolly's wound than were missing from the bullet, thus ruling out Connolly's stretcher as a source for the bullet. Furthermore, in mining tapes of the doctors' press conference, which was held after the stretcher bullet was found, Dr. Shaw supposedly says that a nearly whole bullet was lodged in Connolly's shiek. The theories thus decree that the bullet must have been planted on the stretcher. The fact that no blood or other organic material was found on the bullet reinforces their argument. Professor Thompson further points out that the only bullet similar in appearance to the stretcher bullet was obtained by firing Oswald's rifle into a long tube of cotton. He believes that this test indicated that the stretcher bullet was probably obtained by firing the bullet into cotton.

The Commission claims this bullet started Kennedy's neck and Connolly's shoulder, ribs, wrist and thigh. Theorists say it's a fake.

18. OSWALD IMPERSONATOR THEORY
Proposers: Leo Surette, Harold Weinberg, and possibly some others.

Theorists: Before the assassination, someone impersonating Oswald planted clues that would incriminate Oswald.

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**HOW THE LEADING THEORISTS ANSWER THE LEADING QUESTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theorists</th>
<th>Who killed Kennedy</th>
<th>How many shots were there?</th>
<th>Source of the shots</th>
<th>Were Connally and J. F. K. hit by the same bullet?</th>
<th>Was the stretcher bullet planted?</th>
<th>J. F. K. was shot by same bullet?</th>
<th>Did Oswald still have Tippett?</th>
<th>Ruby's role</th>
<th>Did Oswald have a accomplice?</th>
<th>Why did Oswald do it?</th>
<th>Did Oswald waive (or whoever it was)?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Warren Commission</td>
<td>The Warren Report</td>
<td>Oswald One Shot</td>
<td>Texas School Book Depository</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mark Lane</td>
<td>Rush to Judgment</td>
<td>Oswald Framed One Shot</td>
<td>Sears</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lee Harvey Oswald Affair</td>
<td>Lee Harvey Oswald Affair</td>
<td>Oswald Not Shot by Galitz</td>
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<td>Charlie Weir</td>
<td>Atlassian, possibly with Oswald</td>
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<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Pub Book articles in The Nation</td>
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<td>Commission Report of the Second Oswald</td>
<td>Commission Report of the Second Oswald</td>
<td>Oswald and others</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Vincent Salmurna</td>
<td>Ministry of One</td>
<td>Oswald probably Framed</td>
<td>1 or 4</td>
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<td>Archibald Motley</td>
<td>General Atwell's Full Report</td>
<td>Oswald Framed</td>
<td>2 or more</td>
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<td>Thomas Buchanan</td>
<td>Who killed Kennedy?</td>
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<td>Delta Fox</td>
<td>The Uncovered Guidelines from Abraham's Assassination Compromise</td>
<td>Oswald and others</td>
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